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ABSTRACT

Most reforms related to pluralistic education have been rejected by mainstream American educators primarily for ideological reasons. The fading of the intergroup education movement of the 1940s and 50s is an instance of the failure of educators to internalize the philosophy of multiethnic and multicultural education. The positions of mainstream and pluralistic educators are derived from incomplete analyses of the nature of ethnicity in America. Neither extreme assimilationist nor extreme pluralist ideology can effectively guide curriculum reform. A multiethnic ideology, on the other hand, suggests specific goals for curriculum reform by analyzing the structure of ethnic subcultures embedded in the mainstream American culture. This analysis suggests, for instance, the goal of cross-cultural competency, or the capacity to be at home in a once unfamiliar culture. The relationship of ethnic to mainstream American culture is illustrated with diagrams. (JB)

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MULTIETHNIC/MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION: CONCEPTUAL, HISTORICAL, AND IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES*

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Conceptual Issues

When designing teacher education programs related to multiethnic and multicultural teacher education, some attention should be devoted to the different boundaries and meanings implied by these concepts. This, however, is a frustrating task. I have been able to perceive little consistency in the ways these concepts are used in the educational literature. Despite the attempts I have made in several publications to stimulate fruitful dialogue on conceptual issues in multiethnic/multicultural education, my efforts have born little fruit.[1]

Some of my colleagues feel that it is an academic luxury to devote intellectual energy to conceptual and definitional issues. Others have suggested that, in this emergent stage of the development of multiethnic/multicultural education, each theorist should have the freedom to define

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his or her terms to his or her satisfaction. This is an argument for a kind of "conceptual democracy." I, of course, reject these claims and believe that conceptual clarity is needed in the field and that one of our major aims should be to attain some level of conceptual consensus. Scientific propositions and theories (and consequently sound educational policy) can be developed within an academic field only when its key concepts have somewhat similar (and precise) meanings to scholars and policy makers.[2] We will be unable to develop scientific statements that explain and predict as long as conceptual chaos exists in multiethnic/multicultural education.

Because I have discussed the wide range of concepts in the field of multiethnic/multicultural education elsewhere,[3] I will focus on two major concepts in this paper: multicultural education and multiethnic education. I will not attempt to review all of the diverse and conflicting meanings which these concepts have in the literature, but will state what they mean when used in ways consistent with social science theory and research. I will then state what I consider appropriate goals and concerns of multicultural and multiethnic education.

Multicultural Education

Culture consists of the behavior patterns, symbols, institutions, values and other human-made components of society. It is the unique achievement of a human group which distinguishes it from other human groups. While cultures are in many ways similar, a particular culture constitutes a unique whole. Thus culture is a generic concept with wide boundaries. Consequently, we can describe the United States macroculture

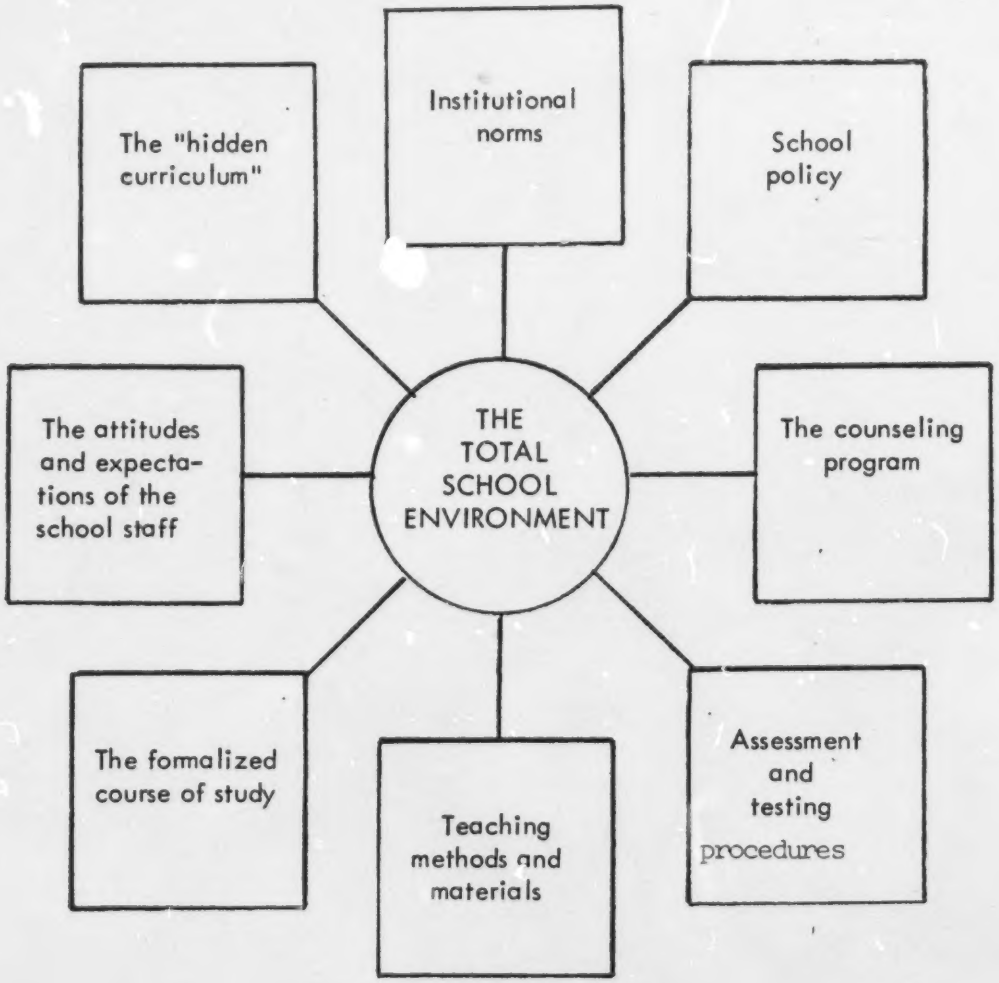

Figure 1, The Total School Environment. In this figure, the total school environment is conceptualized as a system which consists of a number of major identifiable factors, such as school policy, the institutional norms, and the formalized curriculum or course of study. In the idealized multiethnic school, each of these factors reflects ethnic pluralism. While any one of these factors may be the focus of initial school reform, changes must take place in each of them to create and sustain an effective multiethnic educational environment.

as well as the microcultures within it, such as the culture of poverty, the youth culture, the Southern culture, the Appalachian culture, and the culture of the intellectual community.

Since culture is the root of multicultural, multicultural education suggests a type of education that is related in some way to a range of cultural groups. The concept itself implies little more than education related to many cultures. A major aim of multicultural education should be to educate students so that they will acquire knowledge about a range of cultural groups and develop the attitudes, skills, and abilities needed to function at some level of competency within many different cultural environments. These cultures may be social class cultures, regional cultures, religious cultures, and national cultures (e.g. the national culture of Japan). Another appropriate goal of multicultural education is to reform the total school environment so that students from diverse cultural groups will be able to experience equal educational opportunities (See Figure 1).

It is important to note the wide range of cultural groups that multicultural advocates include in their conceptualizations. The authors of the NCATE Standards for the Accreditation of Teacher Education apparently had a broad conceptualization of multicultural education in mind when they wrote:

> [Multicultural education] provides a process by which an individual developes competencies for perceiving, believing, evaluating, and behaving in differential cultural settings. Thus, multicultural education is viewed as an intervention and an on-going assessment process to help institutions and individuals become more responsive to the human condition, individual cultural integrity, and cultural pluralism in society.[4]

Gwendolyn C. Baker, a thoughtful advocate of multicultural education, also conceptualizes multicultural education in a way that includes a wide range of cultural groups. She writes:

> Multicultural education is a process through which individuals are exposed to the diversity that exists in the United States and to the relationship of this diversity to the world. This diversity includes ethnic, racial minority populations as well as religious groups and sex differences. (Emphasis added) This exposure to diversity should be based on the foundation that every person in our society has the opportunity and option to support and maintain one or more cultures, i.e., value systems, life styles, sets of symbols; however, the individual, as a citizen of the United States, has a responsibility of contributing to and maintaining the culture which is common to all who live in this country.[5]

Multiethnic Education

We can derive the social science meaning of multiethnic education by first defining an ethnic group, since ethnic is the root of multiethnic education.[6] An ethnic group is a group which has an ancestral tradition and whose members share a sense of peoplehood and an interdependence of fate. It has some distinguishing value orientations, behavioral patterns, and interests (often political and economic). It is an involuntary group, although individual identification with the group may be optional. Membership in the group is influenced by how members define themselves and how they are defined by others. In summary, an ethnic group is an involuntary group which shares a heritage, kinship ties, a sense of identification, political and economic interests, and cultural and linguistic characteristics.

Multiethnic education implies a kind of education which is related in some way to a range of ethnic groups. Multiethnic education is also a form of multicultural education since an ethnic group is one kind of

cultural group. Multiethnic education should help students develop the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and abilities needed to relate to a range of ethnic groups and to function in ethnic group cultures at some minimal level of competency. Another appropriate goal of multiethnic education is to change the total educational environment so that it will respond to ethnic students more positively and enable them to experience educational equality, Consequently, multiethnic education is an essential part of, but not the total of, the more global concept of multicultural education. Multicultural educational programs in the United States should include a strong emphasis on ethnic and racial minorities.

Cross-Cultural Competency

One of the major goals of multiethnic/multicultural education is to help students develop what I have called cross-cultural competency.[7] However, those of us working in the area of multiethnic/multicultural education have not clarified, in any adequate way, the minimal level of cross-cultural competency we consider appropriate and/or satisfactory for teacher education students or for students in the common schools. Nor have we developed valid and reliable ways to assess levels of cross-cultural competency. I think we know what questions to raise about cross-cultural functioning. However, we need to devote considerable time and intellectual energy to resolving these questions.

Is the Anglo-American student, for example, who eats a weekly meal at an authentic Mexican-American restaurant, and who has no other cross-ethnic contacts during the week, functioning cross-culturally? Most of us would probably agree that the act of eating at an ethnic restaurant, in and of itself, is not an instance of very meaningful cross-cultural behavior. However, if the Anglo-American student, while eating at the Mexican-American

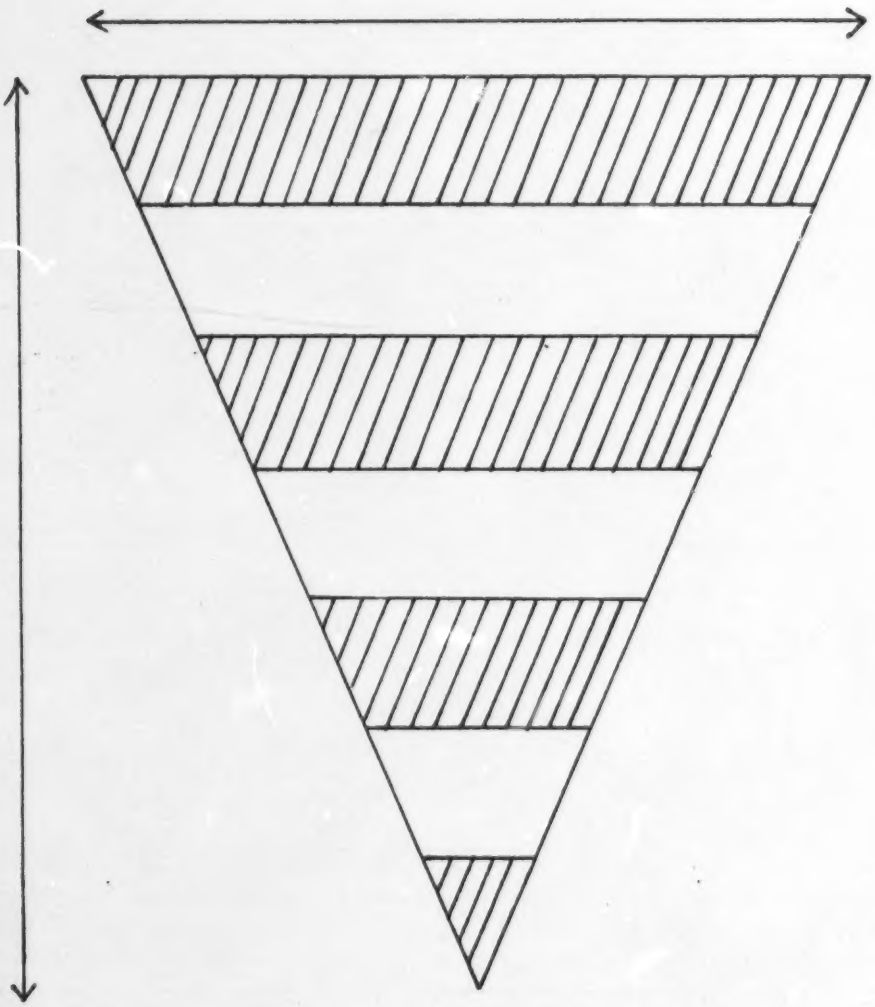
LEVEL IV
THE INDIVIDUAL IS COMPLETELY ASSIMILATED INTO THE NEW ETHNIC CULTURE
LEVEL III
THE INDIVIDUAL IS THOROUGHLY BICULTURAL
LEVEL II
THE INDIVIDUAL BEGINS TO ASSIMILATE SOME OF THE SYMBOLS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "OUTSIDE" ETHNIC GROUP
LEVEL I
THE INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES SUPERFICIAL AND BRIEF CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS

FIGURE 2 LEVELS OF CROSS-CULTURAL FUNCTIONING

This figure presents a conceptualization of levels of cross-cultrual competency. Cross-cultural functioning can range from Level I (brief and superficial contacts with another ethnic culture) to Level IV (in which the individual totally culturally assimilates into a new ethnic culture and consequently becomes alienated from his or her own ethnic culture).

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restaurant, understands and shares the ethnic symbols in the restaurant, speaks Spanish while in the restaurant, and communicates and interacts positively and comfortably with individuals within the restaurant who are culturally Mexican American, then he or she would be functioning cross-culturally at a meaningful level.

Levels of Cross-Cultural Functioning

We need to develop a typology which conceptualizes levels of cross-cultural functioning. We also need to determine which of these levels are desirable and practical for most of our teacher education and common school students to attain. In this paper, I will present the skeletal outline of such a typology. (See Figure 2).

LEVEL I of cross-cultural functioning consists primarily of superficial and brief cross-cultural encounters, such as eating occasionally at a Chinese-American restaurant or speaking to the Jewish neighbor who lives across the street when you meet her in the street. LEVEL II of cross-cultural functioning occurs when the individual begins to have more meaningful cross-cultural contacts and communications with members of other ethnic and cultural groups. He or she begins to assimilate some of the symbols, linguistic traits, communication styles, values, and attitudes that are normative within the "outside" cultural group. LEVEL III of cross-cultural functioning occurs when the individual is thoroughly bicultural and is as comfortable within the adopted culture as he or she is within his or her primordial or first culture. Each of the two cultures is equally meaningful to the bicultural individual. The bicultural individual is bilingual and is adept at cultural-switching behavior. LEVEL IV of cross-cultural functioning occurs when the

primordial individual has been almost completely resocialized and assimilated into the "foreign" or host culture. This process occurs, for example, when the Afro-American individual becomes so highly culturally assimilated (in terms of behavior, attitudes and perceptions) into the Anglo-American culture that he or she is for all sociological purposes an "Afro-Saxon."

I think that most of us working in the field of multiethnic/ multicultural education do not see LEVEL I or LEVEL IV of cross-cultural functioning as desirable goals of multicultural education. Most of us would probably opt for LEVEL II or LEVEL III or some point between these two levels. I should quickly point out that this typology of LEVELS is an ideal-type conceptualization in the Weberian sense and that continua exist both between and within the levels.

In a previous AACTE publication, I presented a typology of the Emerging Stages of Ethnicity.[8] In that paper, I hypothesize that individuals are required to experience Ethnicity Stage 3 or "Ethnic Identity Clarification" before they can function comfortably within another ethnic culture. This hypothesis can now be restated: To experience Level II of cross-cultural functioning within another ethnic group, the individual must have experienced Ethnicity Stage 3 and be functioning at Ethnicity Stage 4. I am presenting this hypothesis so that readers familiar with the Stages of Ethnicity Typology will be able to relate it to the LEVELS typology.

Historical Perspectives: The Rise of the Intergroup Education Movement

At this institute, we are concerned with developing action plans for

implementing multiethnic/multicultural education components within teacher education programs and with developing strategies for institutionalizing multiethnic reforms within the nation's teacher education institutions.

This is not our first attempt within this century to institutionalize reforms designed to make the school and teacher education curricula more ethnically and culturally pluralistic. During World War II, an educational reform movement known as "intergroup education" and "intercultural education" emerged. It is instructive to briefly examine this movement not only because it is related to the current multiethnic education movement, but also because it shares a number of problems with current educational reforms related to ethnic diversity. The intergroup education movement failed to become institutionalized on a significant scale. It largely faded when special funds and projects which supported the movement ended. Hopefully, if we plan carefully and thoughtfully, the current multiethnic education movement might be able to escape the fate of the intergroup education movement of the 1940s and 1950s.

Like the ethnic studies movement of the 1960s, the intergroup education movement emerged in response to societal forces which took place beyond the four walls of the classroom. World War II created many job opportunities in Northern cities. Many Blacks and Whites left the South during the war years in search of jobs. More than 150,000 Blacks left the South each year in the decade between 1940 and 1950 and settled in Northern cities. In Northern cities such as Chicago and Detroit conflict developed between Blacks and Whites as they competed for jobs and housing. These conflicts resulted in serious racial tensions and riots.

Racial tension and conflict were pervasive in Northern cities during the war years. In 1943, race riots took place in Los Angeles, Detroit, and in the Harlem District of New York City. The most destructive riot during the war broke out in Detroit on a Sunday morning in June, 1943. More Southern migrants had settled in Detroit during this period than in any other American city. The Detroit riot raged for more than 30 hours. When it finally ended, 34 persons were dead and property worth millions of dollars had been destroyed. Of those killed, 25 were Blacks and 9 were Whites.[9] The Detroit riot stunned the nation and stimulated national action by concerned Black and White citizens. Write Taba et al:

> Dramatic riots in Detroit, Beaumont, Texas, and other places aroused nervous apprehensions about unity, and caused many American communities to act. There was a mushroom growth of organizations aimed at improving intergroup relations, such as civic unity councils, and mayors' and governors' committees for human relations. By the end of 1944, more than four hundred such councils and committees were reported, of which about three hundred had been organized after the Detroit riot.[10]

A major goal of intergroup education was to reduce racial and ethnic prejudice and misunderstandings.[11] Activities designed to reduce prejudice and to increase interracial understanding included teaching of isolated instructional units on various minority groups, exhortions against prejudice, organizing assemblies and cultural get-togethers, disseminating information on racial, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and banning books considered stereotypic and demeaning to ethnic groups. A major assumption of the intergroup education movement was that factual knowledge would develop respect and acceptance of various ethnic and racial groups. Unlike the ethnic studies movement of the late 1960s, however, the emphasis in the intercultural education movement of the

1940s and 1950s was not on strong cultural pluralism or on maintaining or perpetuating strong ethnic loyalities. Writes Nathan Glazer:

> One suspects that to advocates of intercultural education the picture of a decent America consisted of one in which Americans of whatever origin were really very much alike, and were not discriminated against for their origins, religion, or vestigial cultural differences. Certainly there was no notion that it was the task of the public schools to present or preserve a full-bodied version of ethnic cultures. It was enough to teach tolerance of whatever existed.[12]

An ambitious project during the period of intercultural education was the "Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools" project supported by grants from the Educational Commission of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and sponsored by the American Council on Education.[13] Hilda Taba was the project's director. The project began in January, 1945 and continued through August, 1948.

The Teacher Education Project

The "Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools" project was designed to effect changes in elementary and secondary schools. The American Council on Education also sponsored a project to implement intergroup education in teacher education institutions. This project, called the "College Study in Intergroup Relations," was directed by Professor Lloyd Allen Cook of Wayne State University. The College Study was one of the "first cooperative effort in the United States to improve teacher education in respect to intergroup relations."[14] One of the sponsors of the College Study was the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education. Among the members of this Council were the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the Association for Supervision and

TABLE 1

COLLEGES IN THE COLLEGE STUDY, 1945–49

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	YEAR OF PARTICIPATION*				TOTAL YEARS OF PARTICIPATION*			
	1945	1946	1947	1948	1 Yr.	2 Yrs.	3 Yrs.	4 Yrs.
Atlanta University	...	...	✓	✓	...	✓	...	...
Arizona State College, Tempe	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
Central Michigan College of Education, Mt. Pleasant	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	...	...	✓	✓	...	✓	...	...
City College, New York City	...	✓	✓	✓	...	...	✓	...
Colorado State College of Education, Greeley	...	✓	✓	✓	...	...	✓	...
University of Denver	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
Lynchburg College, Virginia	...	✓	✓	✓	...	...	✓	...
Marshall College, Huntington, W.Va.	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓	...	...
New Jersey State Teachers College, Trenton	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓
New York State College for Teachers, Albany	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓	...	...
Ohio State University, Columbus	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓	...	...
Roosevelt College, Chicago	...	✓	...	✓	...	✓	...	...
San Francisco State Teachers College	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
Southwest Texas State Teachers College, San Marcos	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
Springfield College, Massachusetts	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
State Teachers College, Eau Claire, Wis.	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
State Teachers College, Milwaukee, Wis.	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓	...	...
Moorhead State Teachers College, Minnesota	...	✓	✓	...	...	✓	...	...
Talladega College, Alabama	...	✓	...	...	✓	...	...	...
University of Florida, Gainesville	...	...	✓	✓	...	✓	...	...
University of Pittsburgh	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓	...	...
Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓
West Virginia State College, Institute	✓	✓	✓	✓	...	...	...	✓
Total	8	21	10	10	8	10	3	3

* Does not include the eight colleges continuing in the Study, after one or more years of active participation, on a "limited service" basis.

*Reprinted with permission from Lloyd Allen Cook, Editor, College Programs in Intergroup Relations. Washington , D.C.: American Council on Education, 1950, p. 7

Curriculum Development, and the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association. The College Study was endorsed by the leading professional educational associations.

Colleges and universities with teacher education programs were eligible to apply for participation in the College Study Intergroup Relations Program. Twenty-four colleges were chosen to participate in the program during its four year duration (From 1945 to 1949). In selecting colleges for participation in the project, the project staff tried to select a representative sample of all teacher training institutions in the United States, based on such criteria as geographical location, size, type of affiliation, and ethnic composition. Table 1 shows the colleges and universities which participated in the project and the years in which they participated.

Each of the twenty-four colleges that participated in the College Study developed a program in intergroup education in cooperation with the College Study staff. These projects varied greatly in focus, groups emphasized, and in the kinds of experiences undertaken. Adapting a required course, using folklore in intergroup education, attitude testing, intercollege exchanges and visits, planned experiences in community work, developing a philosophy of intergroup education, and independent faculty research are examples of the myraid projects and activities implemented within the twenty-four colleges which participated in the College Study.[15] Cook classifies the diverse projects into six major categories, which he calls "approaches to behavioral change:"

1. The intellectual approach
   Assumptions that facts alter values, ideas shape perceptions and lead to conduct changes. Example, the academic lecture and text-oriented course.

2. The vicarious experience approach
   An indirect approach, as in the use of movies, plays, and current fiction, where a prejudiced individual presumably takes the role of the out-group member, living his life, experiencing his world.

3. The community study-action approach
   Participant-observer experiences in concrete life processes, for example, case studies of children, home visitation, field trips, social agency work, community-action groups, area studies.

4. Exhibits, festivals, and pageants
   Campus or community display of Old World or other heritages, minority-group customs and contributions. Aim is to create in-group self-respect and out-group acceptance, that is, intergroup unit.

5. Small-group process approach
   Use of the group as an instrument for the education of its members. Example, classroom-activity program, sociodrama, group-decision technique, community audit, any form of action research.

6. Individual conference approach
   Advice on personal problems, especially on value-conflicts. Directive and nondirective therapy, individual case work and referral.[16]

The Intergroup Education Movement Ends

I think it is accurate to say that the intergroup education movement and its related reforms failed to become institutionalized within most American schools, colleges and teacher training institutions. This statement should not be interpreted to mean that the movement did not benefit American society and educational institutions. Cook describes the tremendous impact the College Study projects had on the individuals who participated in them. The action and research projects that were

undertaken in the College Study contributed to our practical and theoretical knowledge about race relations and about intervention efforts that are designed to influence attitudes and behavior.[17] The basic idea of the College Study was a sound one which merits replication: teacher training institutions formed a consortium to develop action and research projects to effect change.

It is also true that many individual teachers and professors, and probably many individual schools and teacher training institutions, continued some elements of the reforms related to intergroup education after the national movement faded. However, by the 1960s when racial tension intensified in the nation and race riots sprang up again, few American schools and teacher education institutions had programs and curricula which dealt comprehensively with the study of racial and ethnic relations.

As we consider ways to institutionalize reforms related to multiethnic teacher education, it is instructive to consider why the reforms related to intergroup education failed to become institutionalized in most American schools and colleges. I hypothesize that the reforms related to the movement failed to become institutionalized, in part, because:

a) The ideology and major assumptions on which intergroup education was based were never internalized by Mainstream American educators.

b) Mainstream educators never understood how the intergroup education movement contributed to the major goals of the American common schools.

c) Most American educators saw intergroup education as a reform project for schools which had open racial conflict and tension and not for what they considered their smoothly functioning and non-problematic schools.

d) Racial tension in the cities took more subtle forms in the 1950s. Consequently, most American educators no longer saw the need for action designed to reduce racial conflict and problems.

e) Intergroup education remained on the periphery of mainstream educational thought and developments and was funded primarily by special funds. Consequently, when the special funds and projects ended, the movement largely faded.

f) The leaders of the intergroup education movement never developed a well articulated and coherent philosophical position which revealed how the intergroup education movement was consistent with the major goals of the American common schools and with American Creed values.

The Current Multiethnic Education Curriculum Reform Movement

The 1965 riot in the Watts district of Los Angeles signaled the beginning of the modern period of ethnic revitalization movements in the United States. The Kerner Commission Report, issued in 1968, suggested the mood of the nation.[18] This report urged decisive national action to eliminate the nation's racial problems. In response to the ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s, a curriculum reform movement arose. However, this reform movement has had, at best, very limited success. Pluralistic educational practices and materials remain primarily on the

periphery of mainstream American education.

Practices such as ethnic studies, bilingual-bicultural education, and multiethnic education have not permeated the mainstream of American educational thought and practice. An important question that concerns this institute is how to begin this permeation process and the process of institutionalization. A philosophy of ethnic pluralism must permeate teacher education institutions before ethnic studies curricula and materials can be effectively integrated into the teacher education curriculum. It is important during this institute to focus on ways to institutionalize a philosophy of ethnic education while discussing strategies and tactics for implementing change. We cannot assume that most teacher educators have accepted the idea of multiethnic education and are waiting for appropriate strategies and materials to be developed before participating in educational reforms related to multiethnic teacher education. I hypothesize that just the opposite is true: that teacher educators are not using many available multiethnic strategies and materials because they believe that multiethnic strategies and materials will not contribute to their major educational goals and objectives.

Multiethnic education has not acquired legitimacy within mainstream educational thought and practice in the United States nor in other nations where I have studied multiethnic educational programs and practices, such as Mexico, France, Great Britain and Canada.[19] One major question this institute faces is: How can we legitimize multiethnic education within the nation's teacher training institutions? Once the concept of multiethnic education has become legitimized and most teacher

educators have internalized a philosophy of ethnic pluralism, the implementation of multicultural teacher education will become a logistical and technical question.

The Root of the Problem: Ideological Resistence

Educators set forth a myriad of reasons to explain their basic indifference and limited response to educational reforms related to ethnic pluralism. These responses include:

a) Our children are unaware of racial differences; we will merely create problems which don't exist if we teach ethnic content. All of our children, whether they are Black or White, are happy and like one another. They don't see colors or ethnic differences.

b) We don't have any racial problems in our school and consequently don't need to teach about ethnic groups.

c) We don't teach about ethnic groups because we don't have any ethnic minorities attending our schools.

d) Ethnic studies will negatively affect societal unity and the common national culture.

e) We don't have time to add more content to what we are already teaching. We can't finish the books and units that we already have. Ethnic content will overload our curriculum.

f) We don't teach much about ethnic groups because we don't have the necessary materials. Out textbooks are inadequate.

g) We can't teach ethnic studies in our schools and colleges because most of our teachers are inadequately trained in this area of study. Many of them also have negative attitudes toward ethnic

groups. They would probably do more harm then good if they tried to teach about ethnic and racial groups.

h) The local community will strongly object if we teach about race and ethnicity in our schools.

i) We don't teach much about ethnic groups in our schools because there is a lack of scholarship in this area. The research in ethnic studies is largely political and polemical.

Some of the above explanations, but not most of them, have a degree of validity and partially explain why multiethnic education has not become institutionalized within American schools and colleges. I will not discuss these claims in this essay since I have discussed them in considerable detail in some of my other publications.[20]

Most of these explanations do not reveal the root of the problem. Ideological and philosophical conflicts between Pluralistic and Mainstream educators (who are basically assimilationists) is the major reason that educational reforms related to ethnic diversity have not become institutionalized within the American educational system. In other words, the resistence to pluralistic education is basically ideological.

The Ideological Clash

Using a Weberian type ideal-type conceptualization, we can identify two major positions related to ethnicity in the nation's schools: the cultural pluralist ideology and the assimilationist ideology. These two ideologies, of course, exist on a continuum. Mainstream American educators, who are primarily assimilationists, make most of the major decisions that are implemented and institutionalized within the American

schools and colleges. They are the gatekeepers of the status quo. Pluralistic educators are those small group of educators who advocate reforms to make American education more ethnically pluralistic. Mainstream and Pluralistic educators embrace conflicting and oftentimes contradictory ideological positions about the nature of society, the nature of schooling, and about the purposes of schooling in a democratic nation such as the United States.

I will briefly describe the basic philosophical assumptions of each of these two ideological positions in their ideal forms and their implications for curriculum reform.[21] I will conclude that neither of these positions in their pure forms is a sufficient guide to curriculum reform in the nation's schools, universities, and teacher education programs. Rather, I will suggest that we need a new ideological position, which reflects both of these positions but which rejects both of their extremes, to guide curriculum reform in the nation's schools and colleges.

The Cultural Pluralist Ideology

The cultural pluralist ideology, in varying forms, is being articulated by various writers today.[22] Some writers, such as Charles V. Hamilton and Stokely Carmichael, endorse a "strong" version of pluralism, while writers such as Michael Novak and Robert L. Williams endorse a much "weaker" form of cultural pluralism.[23] The pluralist argues that ethnicity and ethnic identities are very important in American society. The United States, according to the pluralist, is made up of competing ethnic groups, each of which champions its economic and political interests. It is extremely important, argues the pluralist, for the individual to develop

a commitment to his or her ethnic group, especially if that ethnic group is "oppressed" by more powerful ethnic groups within American society. The energies and skills of each member of an ethnic group are needed to help in that group's liberation struggle. Each individual member of an ethnic group has a moral obligation to join the liberation struggle. The pluralist also assumes that an ethnic group can attain inclusion and full participation within a society only when it can bargain from a powerful position and when it has "closed ranks" within.[24]

Pluralists, because of their assumptions about the importance of the ethnic group in the lives of students, believe that the curriculum should be drastically revised so that it will reflect the cognitive styles, cultures, and aspirations of ethnic groups, especially the "visible" minorities. The pluralist argues that learning materials should be culture-specific and that the major goal of the curriculum should be to help the child to function more successfully within his or her ethnic culture. The curriculum should stress events from the points of view of specific ethnic groups and promote ethnic attachments and allegiances. It should also help students to gain the skills and commitments which will enable them to help their ethnic group to gain power and to exercise it within the larger civic culture.

The Assimilationist Ideology

The assimilationist feels that the pluralist greatly exaggerates the extent of cultural differences within American society. The assimilationist tends to see ethnicity and ethnic attachments as fleeting and temporary within an increasingly modernized world. Ethnicity, argues the

assimilationist, wanes or disappears under the impact of modernization and industrialization. The assimilationist sees the modernized state as being universalistic rather than characterized by ethnic pluralism and believes that strong ethnic attachments are dysfunctional within a modernized democratic state. Ethnicity, argues the assimilationist, promotes divisions, exhumes ethnic conflicts, and leads to the Balkanization of society.

The assimilationist believes that the best way to promote the goals of American society and to develop commitments to the ideals of American democracy is to promote the full socialization of all individuals and groups into the common civic culture. Every society, argues the assimilationist, has values, ideologies, and norms which each member of that society must develop commitments to if it is to function successfully and smoothly. In the United States, these values are embodied in the American Creed and in such documents as the United States Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. In each society there is also a set of common skills and abilities which every successful member of society should master. In our nation these include speaking and writing Standard English and learning basic reading and computational skills. The primary goal of the school, like other publicly supported institutions, should be to socialize individuals into the common culture and enable them to function more successfully within it. At best, the school should take a position of "benign neutrality" in matters related to the ethnic attachments of its students.[25] If ethnicity and ethnic attachments are to be promoted, this should be done by private institutions like the church, the community club, and the private school.

The Quest for A New Ideology

Neither the assimilationist nor the cultural pluralistic ideology, in their ideal or pure forms, can effectively guide curriculum reform in a democratic nation that has a universal culture which is both heavily influenced by and shared by all ethnic groups. Programs based primarily on assimilationist assumptions perpetuate misconceptions about the nature of American society and violate the ethnic identities of many students. Curricular practices which reflect an extreme notion of cultural pluralism also distort American realities and give inadequate attention to the universal American culture which strongly influences the behavior of all American citizens.

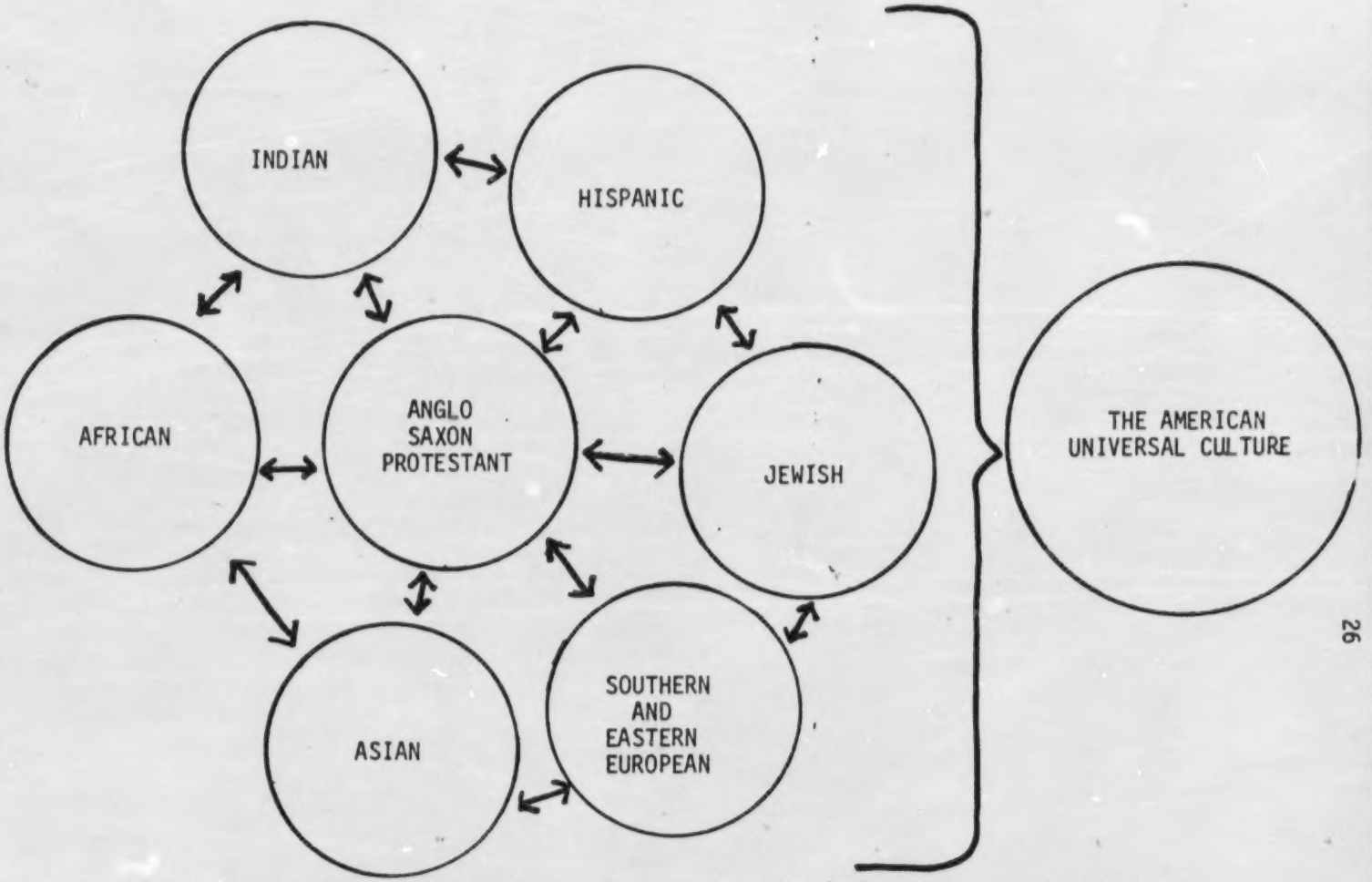
Both the assimilationist and cultural pluralist ideologies emanate from misleading and/or incomplete analyses of the nature of ethnicity in contemporary American society. The assimilationist ideology derives primarily from two conceptualizations of ethnicity in American society: Anglo-conformity and the melting pot. The cultural pluralist ideology emanates from a conceptualization of ethnicity in American society called cultural pluralism. I will summarize these conceptualizations of ethnicity in the United States and indicate why each is inadequate and/or misleading conceptualizations.[26] I will then present my own analysis of ethnicity in American society and derive a new ideology, called the multiethnic ideology, from my analysis. The multiethnic ideology I will present is one possible way to reduce the ideological resistence to pluralistic education.

Anglo-conformity suggests that ethnic groups gave up their cultural attributes and acquired those of Anglo Saxon Protestants. This concept

describes a type of unidirectional assimilation. The melting pot, long embraced as an ideal in American society and culture, suggests that the various ethnic cultures within America were mixed and synthesized into a new culture, different from any of the original ethnic cultures. Cultural pluralism suggests, at least in its most extreme form, that the nation is made up of various ethnic subsocieties, each of which has a set of largely independent norms, institutions, values and beliefs.

Each of these conceptualizations presents major problems when one views the reality of ethnicity and race in America.[27] The Anglo-conformity conceptualization suggests that Anglo Saxons were changed very little in America and that other ethnic groups did all of the changing. This conceptualization is incomplete, unidirectional and static. The melting pot conceptualization is inaccurate and misleading because human cultures are complex and dynamic and don't melt like iron. Consequently, the melting pot is a false and misleading metaphor. The strong cultural pluralist conceptualization denies the reality that we have a universal American culture which every American, regardless of his or her ethnic group, shares to a great extent. This culture includes American Creed values as ideals, American English, a highly technological and industralized civilization, a capitalistic economy, and a veneration of materialism and consumption. Richard Hofstadter has brillantly argued that anti-intellectualism is another key component in the universal American culture.[28] This is not to deny that there are important subcultural variants within the different ethnic subsocieties in America or that there are many non-universalized ethnic characteristics in American ethnic communities. These non-universalized ethnic subvariants

FIGURE 3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE
(American is here used to refer only to the United States)



This figure illustrates how the American universal culture developed through a process conceptualized as multiple acculturation. While the Anglo Saxon Protestant culture had the greatest influence on the development of the American culture, each of the various ethnic culture influenced the Anglo culture and were influenced by it. Each of these cultures were also influenced by and influenced each other. These complex series of acculturations, which were mediated by the American experience and the American socio-cultural environment, resulted in the universal American culture. This process is still taking place today.

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will be discussed later.

Gordon believes that structural pluralism best describes the ethnic reality in American society.[29] According to Gordon, the ethnic groups in the United States have experienced gross levels of cultural assimilation but the nation is characterized by structural pluralism. In other words, ethnic groups are highly assimilated culturally (into the Anglo-American culture) but have separate ethnic subsocieties, such as Black fraternities, Jewish social clubs and Chicano theaters.

Multiple Acculturation

While Gordon's notion of structural pluralism is helpful and deals more adequately with the complexity of ethnic diversity in modern American society than the other three concepts, I believe that multiple acculturation more accurately describes how the universal American culture was and is forming than the concept of cultural assimilation. The White Anglo Saxon Protestant culture was changed in America as were the cultures of Africans and of Asian immigrants. African cultures and Asian cultures influenced and changed the WASP culture as the WASP culture influenced and modified African and Asian cultures. What we experienced in America, and what we are still experiencing, is multiple acculturation and not a kind of unidirectional type of cultural assimilation whereby the Black culture was influenced by the WASP culture and not the other way around.

The general or universal culture in the United States resulted from this series of multiple acculturations. This culture is still in the process of formation and change (See Figure 3). The universal American culture is not just a WASP culture, but contains important elements of

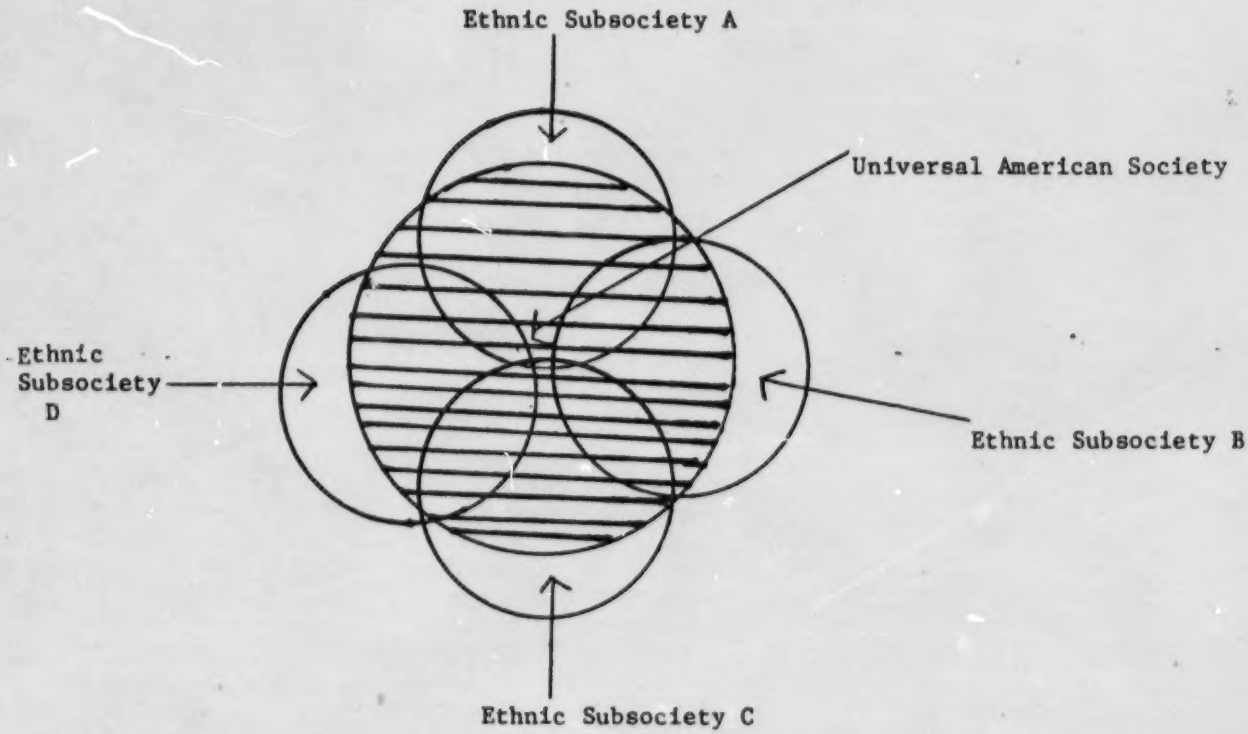
the wide variety of ethnic cultures which are and/or were part of American society. Those ethnic cultural elements which became universalized and part of the general American culture have been reinterpreted and mediated by the unique social, economic, and political experience in the United States. It is inaccurate and misleading to refer to the universal American culture as a WASP culture.

This notion of American culture has been and is often perpetuated in the school and university curricula. It is, of course, true that the White Anglo Saxon Protestants have had a more profound impact on the universal American culture than any other single ethnic group. However, we can easily exaggerate the WASP influence on the general American culture. European cultures were greatly influenced by African and Asian cultures before the European explorers started coming to the Americas in the 15th century. The earliest British immigrants borrowed heavily from the American Indians on the East coast and probably would not have survived if they had not assimilated Indian cultural components and used some of their farming methods and tools.

Ethnic Subsocieties and Non-universalized Ethnic Cultural Components

Figure 3 attempts to describe the development of American culture by emphasizing multiple acculturation and how ethnic cultural elements became universalized. Other American ethnic realities are not shown in Figure 3. These include the significant number of ethnic cultural elements that have not become universalized (that are still shared primarily by ethnic subgroups) and the separate ethnic institutions and groups which constitute ethnic subsocieties within the larger American society and

FIGURE 4 ETHNIC SUBSOCIETIES AND THE UNIVERSAL AMERICAN SOCIETY



In this figure, the universal American society is represented by the ruled area. This culture is shared by all ethnic groups within the United States. A, B, C and D represent ethnic subsocieties which consist of unique ethnic institutions, values, and cultural elements which are non-universalized and shared primarily by members of specific ethnic groups.

culture. The sociocultural environment for most Americans is consequently bicultural. Almost every American participates both within the universal American culture and society as well as within his or her ethnic subsociety. Like other American ethnic groups, there is a subsociety within the WASP culture which has cultural elements that are not universal or shared by the rest of society. Patterson believes that this is a small subsociety in which few individuals participate and that most WASP cultural elements have become universalized. He writes, "...with the exception of small pockets such as the New England Brahmin elite, the vast majority of WASPs have abandoned the ethnic specificities of their original culture in favor of the elite version of the American universal culture."[30]

Non-universalized ethnic cultural characteristics and ethnic subsocieties are realities in contemporary American society. These cultural elements and subsocieties play an important role in the socialization of many Americans and help individual members of ethnic groups to satisfy important needs. Figure 4 illustrates the relationship between the universal American culture and ethnic subsocieties.

The Multiethnic Ideology

My analysis of ethnicity in American society leads to a philosophical position which may be called the multiethnic ideology since one of its key assertions is that Americans function within several cultures, including the mainstream culture and various ethnic subcultures. This multiethnic ideology suggests specific goals for curriculum reform related to ethnicity. A major goal of multiethnic teacher education,

derived from my analysis of the nature of ethnicity in American life, is to help students develop cross-cultural competency (discussed earlier). Edward T. Hall, in his insightful book, Beyond Culture, underscores the importance of helping students to develop the skills and understandings needed to function cross-culturally. He writes, "The future depends on man's transcending the limits of individual cultures."[31]

Another important goal of multiethnic education is to help individuals gain greater self-understanding by viewing themselves from the perspectives of other American ethnic cultures. Individuals who know the world only from their own cultural and ethnic perspectives are denied important parts of the human experience and are culturally and ethnically encapsulated.

These individuals are also unable to know their own cultures fully because of their ethnic blinders. We can get a full view of our own backgrounds and behaviors only by viewing them from the perspectives of other racial and ethnic cultures. Just as a fish is unable to appreciate the uniqueness of his aquatic environment, so are many Anglo-American teacher education students unable to fully see and appreciate the uniqueness of their cultural characteristics. Writes Kluckhohn, "[Cultural Studies] holds up a great mirror to man and let him look at himself in his infinite variety."[32]

The Ideological Conflict: Implications for Multiethnic Teacher Education

The major implication of my analysis for multiethnic teacher education is that "personal contact" situations and dialogue must be established between Mainstream and Pluralistic educators so that they can resolve

their philosophical conflicts and disagreements.

Ideological resistence is the root of our problem. Personal contact and dialogue between Pluralistic and Mainstream teacher educators is essential to derive a basic solution. However, little serious discussion and debate about multiethnic teacher education has taken place among educators with divergent beliefs, assumptions, and ideologies about the role of ethnicity in the formal educational process.[33] This is partly because of the highly politicized and racially tense climate which gave birth to the ethnic studies movement and because of the strong emotions which scholars and educators often exemplify when discussing issues related to ethnicity and schooling.

Born in social protest, early practices related to ethnic studies and multiethnic education often reflected the social climate and the racial and ethnic polarization that were pervasive in the larger society. Ethnic groups, in their quests to shape new identities and to legitimize their histories and cultures within the schools and within the larger society, often glorified their cultures and emphasized the ways in which they had been oppressed by the dominant Anglo-American society.

This early phase of ethnic protest and ethnic studies programs must be viewed within a broad social and political context. Groups which perceive themselves as oppressed and who internalize the dominant society's negative stereotypes and myths about themselves are likely to express strong ingroup feelings during the early stages of an ethnic revitalization movement. There is also an attempt to shape a new ethnic consciousness and group identity. During this phase, the group is also likely to strongly reject outside ethnic and racial groups, to romanticize its past,

and to view contemporary social and political conditions from a highly subjective perspective.

An ethnic group that is experiencing the early stages of an ethnic revitalization movement is also likely to demand that the school curriculum portray a romanticized version of its history and to emphasize the ways in which the group has been oppressed and victimized by other ethnic and racial groups within the society. Extremely negative sanctions are directed against members of the ethnic group who do not endorse a strong "ethnic position." Consequently, little fruitful dialogue is likely to take place among individuals who hold conflicting ideological positions regarding ethnicity and educational policy. Members of both the "oppressed" and of the "oppressive" groups are likely to be ardent in their positions during the early stages of an ethnic revitalization movement.

We have entered a new phase in the development of multiethnic education--a phase in which scholars who have serious reservations about multiethnic education feel free to express their concerns in a public forum, thereby stimulating dialogue which can lead to a better clarification of the issues and to a reduction of ideological conflict. Open discussions related to ethnicity and schooling can now take place because the ethnic revitalization movements in the United States have reached a new developmental phase: emotions have cooled, perspective has been gained, and ethnic minorities are now engaging in serious introspection and policy formation.

Summary

By examining the intergroup education movement of the 1940s and 1950s, which failed to become institutionalized, we can gain helpful insights as we plan strategies to reform teacher education so that it will reflect the ethnic and cultural diversity in American life.

Most reforms related to pluralistic education have been rejected by Mainstream American educators primarily for ideological reasons. This philosophical resistence to pluralistic education must be reduced before reforms related to multiethnic education can either be successfully disseminated or institutionalized. The philosophical positions of Mainstream and Pluralistic educators are derived from misleading and/or incomplete analyses of the nature of ethnicity in contemporary American society. Neither of these ideologies, in their ideal or pure forms, can effectively guide curriculum reform in the nation's common schools and colleges. I presented an analysis of ethnicity in American society and derived an educational ideology from my analysis.[34] I called this ideology the multiethnic ideology. It can help to resolve the conflict between Mainstream and Pluralistic educators and guide curriculum reform in the nation's common schools, colleges and universities.

Personal contact situations and dialogue between Mainstream and Pluralistic teacher educators must take place to reduce ideological resistence to pluralistic education. Manifestations of the early stages of ethnic revitalization have prevented effective dialogue between Mainstream and Pluralistic educators in recent years. However, we have entered a new phase in the development of ethnic revitalization.[35] In

this new phase, effective dialogue about pluralistic education can take place between educators and policy makers with conflicting ideological positions. Ideological resistence to pluralistic education must be reduced and a philosophy of multiethnic education institutionalized before effective multicultural/multiethnic teacher education programs can be implemented. Once a philosophy of multiethnic education is internalized by Mainstream teacher educators, the development of effective multiethnic teacher education programs will become primarily a logistic and technical problem.

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